2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 - NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Citala, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive.

In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajon. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistan.) Other money crops of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martin, it is the principal export from Yajalon and Petalcingo. In Bachajon, Citala, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal communities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivaca, and a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalon. Apparently the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been in the hands of Ladinos, however, recently the Government, acting through the Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Indians manufacture and consume *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage fermented from sugar cane or maize. They drink larger quantities of rum prepared in Ladino-owned distilleries. *Pilco*, a combination of lime and tobacco, is chewed frequently, especially in Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Cancuc.

Tenejapa is the only Tzeltal town that enjoys importance as a market center. Here a market is held every Sunday.

Pottery is made for sale outside the local community in Amatenango and in Tenango. In almost all the other communities the industry is practised in a rudimentary form merely to supply local needs. Blom and LaFarge observed and reported the techniques of pottery manufacture at Sivacá;[19] Villa limits his data to mentioning the industry there. Blom and LaFarge report, on hearsay, the method of making large, egg-shaped, three-handled water jars at Tenango; Villa observed and reported this industry. The former authors report that the clay used is "a light greenish brown colour."[20] Villa says that two kinds of clay, "white earth" and "red earth," are combined to form the paste. Villa also noted the tempering with a ground sandy limestone (*hi*); and the painting with a paint made from a soft stone from the river (*huxu-tzaik*). The pots and griddles are made from one kind of clay tempered with a different sandstone called *bax*. The method of firing described for Sivacá by Blom and LaFarge from hearsay, involving the preparation of "an A-roof, forming a long tunnel,"[21] was observed and photographed by Villa in Tenango. Villa was told that vessels after firing are filled with *pozole* in water to reduce the porosity.

In Tenejapa metates are made for export, and in Oxchuc halters, lead-ropes, nets, and bags. The methods of weaving, net making and basketry, reported by Blom and LaFarge for Bachajón[22] were not reported by Villa.

The type of habitation is the same throughout the whole region, although there are small variations from village to village. The houses are rectangular in form with four-sided roofs, thatched with grass, and with sides made of poles and clay. Only the houses of Chanal form an exception. The walls of these structures are in most cases of wood. The houses of Tenango present another exception in that they are the only ones where the roofs do not terminate in a ridge, but in a point; it is usual to cover this with an inverted pot. Houses are throughout divided into two rooms, one of which serves as living room and kitchen and the other as sleeping room. In some cases the kitchen is placed in the latter section. There is a single door in front; only in certain settlements to the north, as Chilón and Yajalón, where the influence of the white man has been greater, are houses to be seen with two doors and even some with small windows. The floor is always of packed earth.

The furnishings of the living room are limited in general to beds, improvised of boards placed on the ground or on logs, and covered with mats. The hammock is little used; it is generally reserved for children. The furnishings and domestic

[19] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:342–345.
[20] *Ibid.*, 2:383.
[21] *Ibid.*, 2:344.
[22] *Ibid.*, 2:345–349.

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Handcrafts

323 Among the few handcrafts practiced in [462] the Tzeltal areas, ceramics, produced mainly by women, is the most widespread. Tenango [184] and Amatenango del Valle are the only communities which have made a specialty of this craft. Tenango exports its products [439] through the northern zone. Amatenango through the southern zone, including neighboring Guatemalan villages. Both places use 323 184 a similar ceramic technique but different shape and ornamentation. Referring to Amatenango del Valle, Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:396) state:

> The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape, a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, however, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them until they are done. These pots are carried by [438] the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they [439] are redistributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala.

283 Another widespread craft is spinning and 286 weaving of fabrics for clothing. No village [438] in the Tzeltal area trades these products because production barely meets their family needs. The backstrap loom of pre-Hispanic origin is the chief tool.

[184] Pita articles—ropes, bags, and nets to gather the harvest or carry loads—are mainly produced in Oxchuc and Cancuc. 372 In Cancuc wooden combs are also manu- 184 factured.

342 *Houses and Furniture*

Houses, from 3 to 5 m. on a side, are predominantly square with thatched roofs. The walls are wattle-and-daub or plain tree trunks tied with vines. Floors are of [354] hardened earth. The houses only have one door and no windows, except in some vil-

[P 207-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

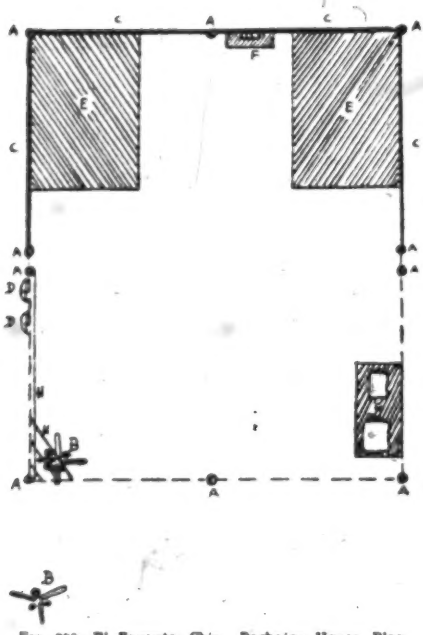

FIG. 288—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon House. Plan. (Scale 1:100).

A. Uprights, kuk'up.
B. Fire.
C. Wall, p'ahk.
D. Rat Trap.
E. Beds.
F. Altar.
G. Table with Metates.
H. Racks.

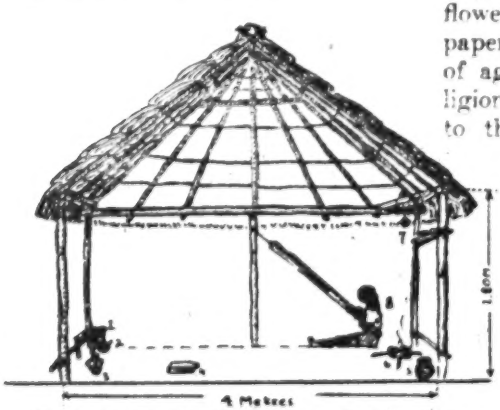

FIG. 289—El Encanto, Chis. Section of Bachajon House.

1. Table, ahk'en, with Metates.
2. Basket of clay, teavek lum.
3. Tenango water jar, k'ip.
4. Squatting chair, tzamate.
5. Olla, ocom.
6. Fire, kak'.
7. Racks, baxtet, with packages.
8. Woman weaving.

a central front and back post, and two posts close together on each side at the ends of the walls, supported the roof-beams. There were no horizontal members save the plates, following the line of the eaves. The rafters were built up from these direct to the ridge-pole, joined by light cross pieces, or thatching-poles, laid on outside. Near the top they were braced by a purlin of heavy logs on the inside. From floor to eaves it was 1.80 meters, and about the same from eaves to the ridge-pole. The floor was of hard dirt, fairly well levelled, and well swept. We were told that situations on hills, such as this, are commonly chosen to assure drainage, and that there is no orientation.

The altar, a table and a large cross decorated with flowers, pine-tips, and bits of paper, which will be spoken of again when discussing religion, was placed at the back to the right of the middle post. In front, to the right, was the table, *ahk'en*, on which were two metates, or grinding stones. They were legless, one end being raised slightly by propping with stones. The finer one was called *skaltca-tut* ("metate-small"), it was made of a fine, sandy lime-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

necks and round bottoms. Two were full of corn and lime for tortillas, just off the fire. A big Tenango jar, *k'ip*, of the kind to be described at that place, was used for water.

A pottery dish, about 7 centimeters across, *tsets*, is commonly offered to guests to wash their hands. It is placed on a pottery stand of an hour-glass shape, about 15 centimeters high, *awaliko* (see fig. 299). The ordinary plates and general vessels are flat gourd dishes, *qai'*, about 20 centimeters across. Gourds as well were used for a dipper, *tuts*, and a water-jar, *tsux*. Two nets hung from the rack. There were three small baskets, *tutemotc*, and four big ones, *mukulmotc*. Hanging on the wall were a pair of the basket-work sandals mentioned before, and selected ears of corn for seed. The wife's textile outfit, more fully described later, consisted of a spindle, *pětět*,

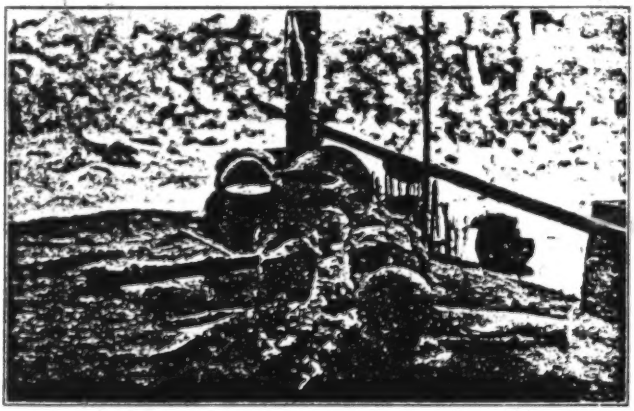

FIG. 291—Bachajon Fireplace.

with clay whorl, spun in a gourd bowl, *tsima*, cotton, *t'umin*, hanging in leaves, and the loom itself, *holěl*. A sling, made of a forked stick and rubber band with a leather piece to take the clay pellet, *finmutc*, belonged to the small boy. Bananas were drying on the rack. With them were laid, or hanging in packages of leaves, beeswax, *tcavek*, blocks, 20 x 20 x 2 centimeters, for trade purposes, used for making candles, a lump of hard red clay, *baq lum* ("bitter earth"), for washing the hair, and sometimes also eaten, a package of brown loaf sugar, salt, *atsam*, traded down from the Zotzil country, several packages of pimiento pepper, and serpent fat, *junto tcan*, for rubbing on the chest to cure coughs. Under the table was a basket of coarse, blackish-gray clay for making pottery, *tcavek lum* ("beeswax earth"). Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

red-gold colour. The baking observed at Amatenango, which is described in the following chapter, was quite different. 323

The forms made at Sivacá are: (Fig. 299) a tub, *pok'et;* cooking pots or *ollas, ŏcom;* form for making cooking pots, *hutstahibe;* bowl, *tsets;* stand for bowl, *awaliko;* form for making sugar, with a hole in the bottom, *hor'mo;* tortilla griddle, *tsamets;* and a perforated olla for washing corn, *tcistcinaix.*

The Bachajon make most of these also, but the tub and clay *tsets* are rare, a gourd often serving for the latter. The surfaces are less well smoothed. In no case was any attempt at decoration observed. It should be noted in this respect, however, that almost all of these would eventually be quite blackened with smoke.

[142] [291] [302] [516] [342]

Fig. 194—Sivacá, Chis. Woman making pottery.

Among the forms shown in the figures, it will be noticed that there is no piece with a markedly contracted neck; such work seems to be beyond their abilities. All through this district the big *cantaras* or water jars are imported from Tenango, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

In general throughout Ocosingo Valley white cloth for men's clothes and women's blouses, made of native cotton, *na'*, as well as the men's sashes, are of local manufacture. Among the Bachajon, cloth is comparatively little woven, but sashes are always home made. The coloured thread is usually bought in stores. Weaving is entirely done by the women. 286 [291]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

286 126 123 Our Indian hostess at the Encanto house was commissioned to make us a sash; after observing and photographing the process (fig. 300), we bought the loom with the unfinished piece on it. At Sivacá the army of guides produced a woman who was weaving cloth, and another who was just preparing the thread for the loom (fig. 301). The former was very bored and matter-of-fact about the whole pro-

323

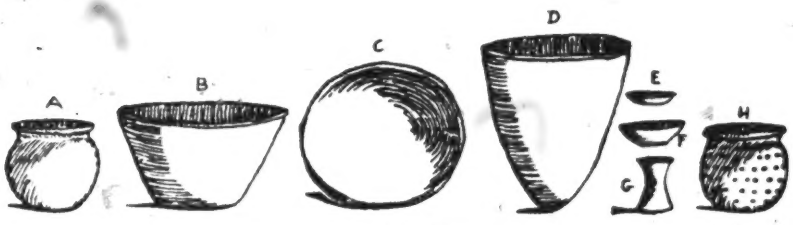

FIG. 299—Sivacá, Chia. Pottery Forms.

A. Ocom. C. Tsametz. E. Hutetahibe. G. Awaliko.
B. Pok'et. D. Hor'mo. F. Taeta. H. Teisteinahx.

286 126 123 ceeding, but the latter, a younger one, was at first frightened. At the first sight of me, she put away all her work. As she spoke no Spanish, I fell back upon a corps of seven or eight interpreters, who all spoke together while I looked as harmless as possible. Then she thought that the Mayor of Ocosingo, or the President of Mexico, or some one had sent for her, and packed her things to travel. At last she understood, and then balked. The men explained to me, with some amusement, that she was ashamed—*"dice que tiene verguenza"* — but finally she consented to pose. The result was a picture worth the while; she herself was a good type of young Indian woman, on her back was slung a pretty though somewhat grimy baby, while an underfed puppy and very small chicken completed the family group. The picture also shows a good example of the squatting-seat mentioned when listing the contents of the Encanto house (see fig. 301).

[286] [291] [142] [302] [516]

FIG. 300—El Encanto, Chia. Woman Weaving.

283 The spindle, *pětět*, is a stick 35 centimeters long, at the foot of which is a clay whorl, for which no name was given. It is spun with the weighted end resting in a gourd bowl, the upper end held against

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

the thigh. The spinning is done with the left hand, the right holding and drawing out the thread, *tsahalna'* (fig. 302-d).

The thread is then arranged for the warp on a form called *kumen* (fig. 302-c). This is a pole 1.40 meters long, notched at intervals on one side, and with a groove in one end joining two unnotched sides. In one of the notches, according to the length of thread desired, is placed a cross stick, *tumin-te,* (equals *kumen-te?*), 45 centimeters long. The thread is laid from one end of this cross stick, through the groove, around to the other end of the cross stick, and so, back and forth, until the required number of woof-strands are prepared. The loops around one half of the cross stick are then transferred to the head-stick of the loom, those around the other to the foot-stick, and the woof is ready. At the head end, the loops are braided for the selvage.

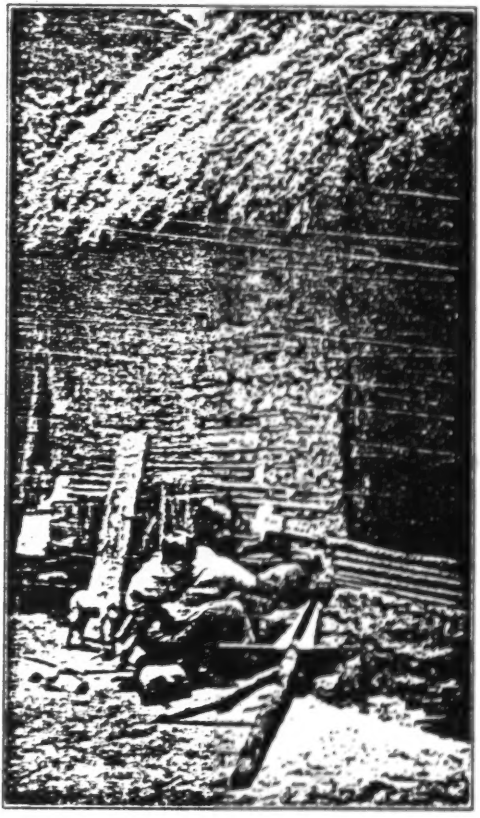

FIG. 301—Sivacá, Chis. Woman Winding Thread.

The loom, *holēl,** has no rigid frame. The woof is stretched over the head and foot-sticks, *wolol-te.* The head-stick is fastened to a beam in the house or to a branch, usually more than a meter above the ground. Before this the weaver sits, with the foot-stick strapped to her by a broad leather strap, *ku'epat,* thus holding the set-up taut (fig. 303). At a little distance below the head-stick, the woof-strands are crossed, those underneath being carried on top, and held in place

*holēl is one of a large class of words ending in *-el, -il,* or *-ul,* which are at once verbal nouns and infinitives; e. g. *tal-el,* to come, or the act of coming, corresponding to the Latin *venire* and *veniendo. hol-el* primarily means to weave, here it is also applied to the loom.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

286 by a stick called *wolol-te* at El Encanto, and *ibal-te* at Sivacá. The former name was probably obtained through faulty questioning, as it is also applied to the head and foot-sticks. *W'olol-* may be derived from *hol-*, in which case the word would simply mean "stick for weaving" (*-te*, "stick, tree, wood"), and would be applicable to any part of the loom. Below these two is a heddle, *yolala*, attached by

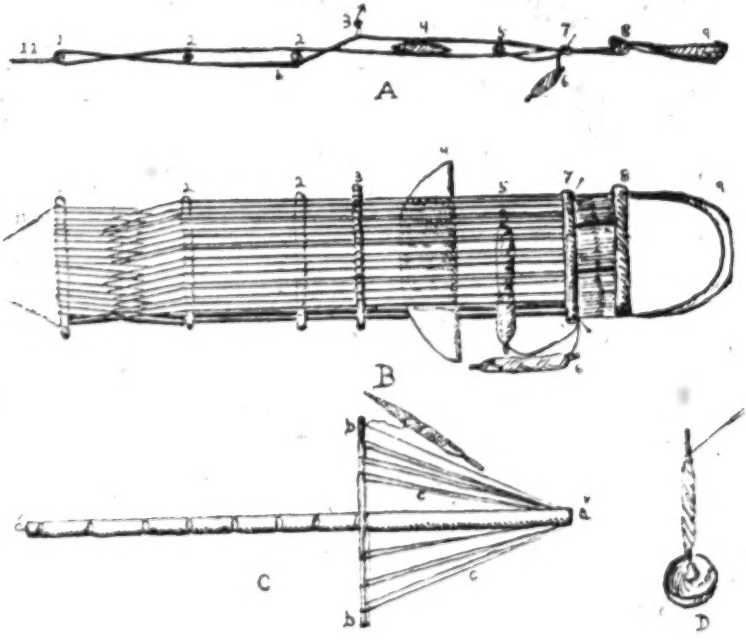

FIG. 303—Weaving Implements.

A. Side view of loom.
1. Wolol-te.
2. Ibal-te.
3. Heddle, yolala.
4. Batten, halawil-te.
5. Shuttle, tiomal.
6. Shuttle, tiomal.
7. Wolol-te.
8. Wolol-te.
9. Ku'epat.
B. Top view of loom.
C. Kumen.
a. Notched end.
b. Tumen-te.
c. Warp strands.
D. Spindle.

cotton loops to the lower set of warp-strings. Below this is sometimes set another separating stick, *tautuhil*. The pounding batten, *halawil-te*, is inserted at this point. At Sivacá a wooden comb *holalhil*, was also used. As the woven part becomes long, it is rolled up around the foot-stick, thus keeping the work easily within the weaver's reach. That part which is woven but not rolled up is held

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

stretched flat by a stick with thorns in the end, also said to be called *wolol-te*. The string for tying up the head-stick is called *tsul*. (See fig. 302-A, B). 286

The different coloured threads are wound on shuttles, which are called *buk'al* when bare, *tiomal* when wound. These are passed back and forth between the warp-strands, with an alternate raising and lowering of the heddle. The threads not in use at the moment are laid parallel to the outermost woof-strand at the selvage. Cross-stripes are thus made with the warp, longitudinal stripes with coloured woof-strands.

The shape of the loom depends upon the article to be woven. A sash-loom is about 40 centimeters wide. A cloth-loom is about 75 centimeters wide, and usually not as long as the sash-loom; the sword is a meter in length. The sword at Sivacá was of a heavy wood, very smooth, and dark with much handling. We were told that the wood was not indigenous, and that such swords were very valuable, as they could not be obtained any more. The one seen in use was borrowed from another woman, who refused to sell it.

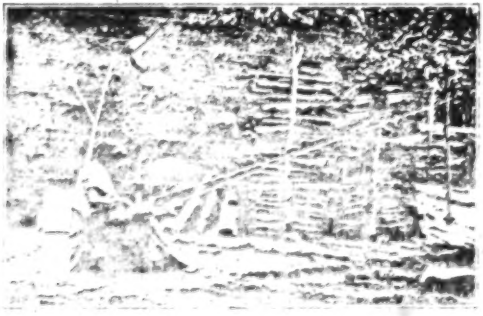

Fig. 304—Sivacá, Chis. Woman Weaving.

Cloth for clothes is ordinarily woven plain white, but is sometimes varied with fine lines laid in the woof. The Bachajon weave relatively little cloth, being more accustomed to buy cotton at the stores; their sashes, however, show more variety and use of colour than do those of Ocosingo Valley.

Hats and baskets, *mOc*, are made by the men. The former have already been described. 285 [462]

Baskets are woven on a frame of heavy splints laid crossing each other at the center. These are bent upward, leaving a sufficient length flat to provide for the bottom. The warp of reeds is then woven in and out, in a simple wicker-work, around the bottom and sides. At the top the splints are doubled over and tucked down under the strands. The rim is formed of two strands twisted around each other between each splint. The work is not very fine, there

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

285 being an average of only three strands to a centimeter, with the splints about three centimeters apart. Ordinarily the widest part of the basket is at the rim, but a very small basket, *tutemOtc*, was observed, in which the greater diameter was about half-way up the side. The weave was the same. The standard large size is 23 centimeters high, 36 centimeters diameter at the rim, and 13 at the base (fig. 304).

286 [482] The men also make the nets, *tcotcaH*, which are used, suspended from one shoulder, as a pocket, or, slung from a tump-line, to carry small burdens. They are made of hennequen or ixtla cord. The mouth is an extra heavy string, from which the woven part of the net hangs (fig. 305). The method of laying the cord was observed

[285]

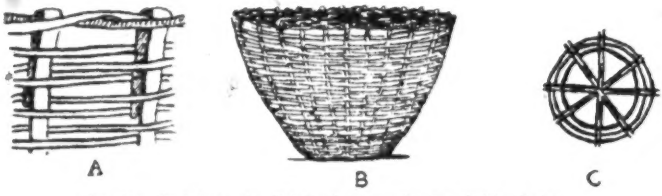

FIG. 304—Basketry. A. Detail of weave showing finish of rim. B. Basket, height 23 c.m. C. Arrangement of splints at the bottom.

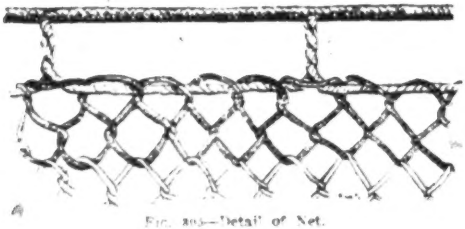

FIG. 305—Detail of Net.

FIG. 306—Frame for weaving net.

at Cancuc. The ixtla threads are held in the crotch of the left knee, and the cord is wound on the thigh with a flat-hand, rubbing motion. A bundle of threads laid parallel to each other, is taken by the middle and rolled into the already made cord, forming two strands. When the strands are ready, they are laid together with a reverse-stroke of the hand on the thigh. The net is woven with a deer-horn needle, *muk*, on a frame, *tiaH*, consisting of a board about 18 centimeters long with an upright stick at each end (fig. 306). The actual weaving was not observed.

322 412 Considering that their only tools are their machetes, and an occasional cheap pocket knife, the wood-working done by the men is

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

one piece with its stand, which is then called *cOt*, and a pot with one or two spouts and a handle on top called *bur'nia* (figs. 317-319). 323

The decoration is fairly standardized. In the big cantaras each woman uses a central element of her own, and all follow the same general scheme. Occasionally a potter breaks out with an odd form, such as an undersized cantara which we bought. It has a row of pellets about the rim, called *tut-cuH*, "little beads"; around the center is a zone of galloping animals showing considerable action, but difficult to identify. When we asked what the animals were, the woman replied rather wearily that they were "to make it pretty," so we let it go at that (fig. 318). 323 531

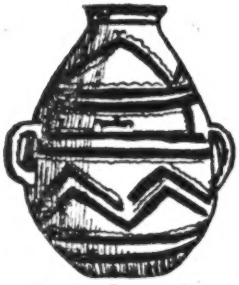

FIG. 316—Tenango Jar. (43 c.m. high).

The clay used is a light, greenish brown colour, and lumpy before being prepared. It is tempered with ground, sandy limestone, *hiH-ton* ("sand-stone") of fine quality. The jar is painted with a paste made of a soft, 323

323 531

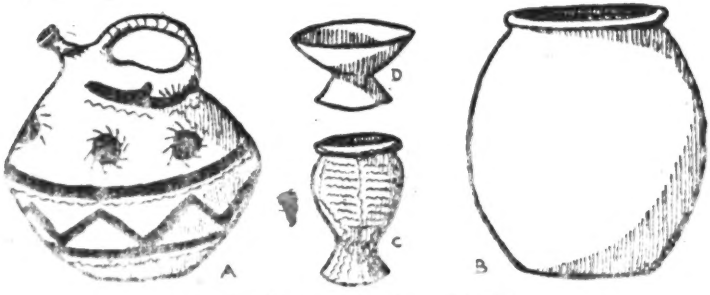

FIG. 317—Tenango, Chis. Types of Pottery.
A. Burnia. B. Ocom. C. Yocwal-ata'a. D. cOt.

FIG. 318—Tenango, Chis. Central designs from jars.

black stone, *tsa-ik* (*ik* equals "black") ground and mixed with water. It is laid on with the soft, green tip of a bush called *Hwamal*.* 323

The women's *huipiles* and all the men's clothes are woven at Tenango by the women. The men's sashes, which they make, are not as finely woven as among the Bachajon. They are undecorated 286

*To make a cantara—*wuk'in*. To paint a cantara—*nuc-k'in*. To bake cantaras—*wuktzik k'ih-tzik* (*tz* is the emphatic plural, they are [many baked] in large batches).

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

286 and often have no fringe. We were told that it was impossible to
123 see a woman weaving at that time, but by persistent stalking the
126 writer finally managed to locate a girl at work, whom he observed
286 and sketched from behind a bush. The women here were so consistently shy that no doubt she would have rolled up her loom, which was of just the same type as the one seen at Sivacá, and fled into the house had she known she was observed. Our procession through this very pretty village, too, was a serious affair—distinguished strangers being shown around town by the mayor—and had none of the cheerful joking and general *bonhommie* that produced such friendliness and good results at Sivacá.

241 Something more should be said about the agriculture here. Ordinarily, Indians go out to choose their own land in the bush and

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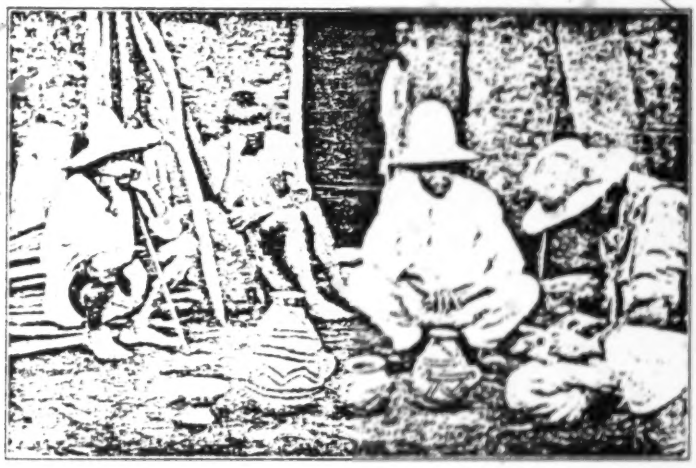

Fig. 319—Tenango, Chis. La Farge drawing pottery.

241 plant it with little cultivation, placing the corn close together. Here each family has its land assigned to it by the council. As the same field must be planted year after year, the hills of corn are widely spaced, and the ground is turned over as deeply as possible by means
[417] of heavy hoes, *ak'en*, purchased in San Cristóbal. As was said, everything is fenced as much as possible. When some of our pack animals got loose in a field, the excitement was intense. In the yards of the
824] houses they raise corn, beans, and a plant related to tobacco. This plant grows nearly as tall as a man. The leaf is rubbed on their legs to cure fatigue. It is carried with lime in a small gourd and offered and accepted for chewing with much the same bowing and formalities as obtained among our ancestors when offering snuff.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

dies, the owner announces on the loudspeaker of the local bars that he will sell meat at 5 pesos a portion. He preserves the hide to make saddle packs and tumplines. But the loss is great because he will not be able to buy a new bull with what he earns. If the bull lives, he will be better in three weeks and can carry loads. It is a very dangerous operation since the scrotum of a bull is very large. It is easier with a horse.

Surrounding the event with a ceremonial complex minimizes the development of commercialized relations between the caponizer and the owner. Most men who acquire several head of cattle or horses eventually learn to do the task themselves.

Handicrafts performed by men include rope-making from the tails of horses or from plant fibers, and weaving net bags. Most of the men who are assigned to the civil hierarchy spend their spare time in the cabildo making these items.

Carpentry is a skill now being practiced by two Indians of the town who "just learned by watching." They are called upon to help people in constructing the house frame, for which they receive 50 pesos in wages. A Ladino living on the margin of the town is a full-time specialist with his own shop. In addition to supervising house construction, he makes furniture and caskets to order.

New Economic Enterprises

In the operation of the new enterprises, which include cattle raising, cooperative ownership of a store, bars, and trucks, and liquor distilling, several patterns of organization have emerged. Some of these are based on preexisting social groupings, while others represent innovations. The social resources of management, credit operations, and the development of new skills within these local enterprises are of significance in preparing Indians for new occupations in the wider society.

Cattle raising. The most traditional organization is found in the case of cattle raising. Cattle have been in the town at least as far back as the 1915 revolutionary period when informants indicate that most of the

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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called by the historians the Wars of the Castes (Pineda, 1888; Molina, C., 1934; Kline, H., 1960), and both of them voted to join Mexico when the State of Chiapas was contemplating annexation to either Mexico or Guatemala (Trens, 1942:274).

TABLE 2

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AMATENANGO AND AGUATENANGO: POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE JURISDICTIONS

Time	Amatenango	Aguacatenango
1600 to 1778	Obispado de Ciudad Real Provincia de los Llanos	
1829	Departamento del Sur Partido de los Llanos	
1844	Distrito del Centro Partido de Las Casas o San Cristobal	
1854	Municipio de San Cristobal 9th Municipio	Distrito de Comitan 4th Municipio
1937-1958	Municipio de Amatenango	Municipio de V. Carranza

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In the end of the eighteenth century (1792) the Bishop Francisco Gabriel de Olivares y Benito tried to specialize Amatenango, Teopisca and Aguacatenango as small textile centers (cotton) by giving the weaving materials to widows and young female children to process and sell. A school for the training of weavers was established in the same year, but the project ended unsuccessfully in the beginning of the nineteenth century (Trens, 1942: 175-6).